





...and by raising that pleasant philosophical cry, "Don't coerce us!" while they were stealing our arms, rifling our arsenals, and ready for the fight—

...their hosts in martial array, ready for the fight—I have no doubt, I say, that they thought their cry of "Don't coerce us!" "Don't plunge us into a fratricidal war, the most inhuman of all wars!" would prevail, and that the even spirit of the North, and the prejudices of party which they had nourished for seventy years, would secure their admission into the family of nations, and that it would be a bloodless victory for them. I am glad that they have been disappointed in this. (Applause.) I should have been ashamed of the country of my birth if we could have permitted the rebellion to go on, and allowed the Southern Confederacy to be admitted into the family of Nations without a blow for the preservation of the integrity of our Government, and for the institutions bequeathed us by our fathers. But, fortunately, their impatience could not brook delay, and Sumner fell. Of what use is it to stop and ask who is responsible for that? One says it is the slaveholders; another says, it is the Anti-Slavery men; another says, it is the merchants of the North. Let me say, the responsibility rests on all of them together; but if you wish to know what the responsibility of each is in this matter, then see what each has done in the work. It is undoubtedly true, that if it had not been for the garrison in Fort Sumter, the Southerners would not have attacked it. It is undoubtedly true, that the garrison would not have been there, in that menacing attitude, if Mr. Buchanan had seen any way to get them out without a plain confession of his purpose. For General Scott warned him of other forts that were undefended, told him that the rebellion which was on the point of outbreak was one that would require an armed force to suppress it, and asked leave to garrison those undefended forts, but was not permitted. It is undoubtedly true, that there would have been no vote to shut up slavery in its own territory, if there had been no party to stir up the elements of liberty in this country. It is undoubtedly true, that if there had been no institution of slavery in our midst, there would have been no such party; and it is undoubtedly true, that if there had not been those in former times who brought slaves from Africa to our shores, there would have been no such institution here. So we might go back, step by step, as far as we pleased, and all the threads of the web are essential to the web itself; but if you would know the responsibility of each or all, see what each has done. He who moves the public heart, and fans the expiring flame of liberty, is not guilty of wrong in attacking the rising waves of oppression. It is not his fault if there be an outbreak. My friends, when one of your police arrests a criminal in your streets, and his accomplices assault the policeman, do you say the policeman is responsible for the assault? To be sure, there would have been no assault if he had not arrested the criminal; and I have no doubt, if we would turn round and join hands with the Southern Confederacy, and seek just what they seek, there would be no war. So, if we would join hands with the liquor shops of Boston, and the Mayor and Aldermen, and Chief of Police, who seek the protection of liquor selling by law, there would be perfect peace between the friends of Temperance, the liquor sellers, and the Mayor and Aldermen. Let the whole community join hands with iniquity, and there will be no trouble, no outbreak. Look out for it in Heaven, when in such case there is none on earth! (Applause.)

Well, having gotten to this stage in the great struggle, there are not a few persons, in whose souls there is a genuine love of liberty, and an honest, though not very vigorous, perhaps, or clear-sighted, hatred of slavery and oppression, who think, after all, we cannot do anything; that it is all very well to talk about liberty, but nothing can be done—it is not time to do anything. Just so on the subject of Temperance. The Chief of Police tells us that the police have no control over the liquor traffic, and the friends of Temperance cannot do anything. They have the prohibitory statute, it is true, but it cannot be executed—nothing can be done. These friends of freedom to whom I have alluded may even admit, with you and me, that our constitutional obligations to tolerate slavery are at an end, if there ever were any; they may admit, with you and me, that a rebel, whether an individual or a State, is an outlaw, and that there may be a right on the part of the Government, as there unquestionably is, to take the life of a rebel, when he can be caught; or, (since the greater includes the less,) if you hang him at a rope's end, you may take his goods and chattels from him;—there are not a few people who believe all that, and yet think that, at present, nothing can be done; at present, somehow, after all, there are constitutional difficulties; that, whatever may be said of the rebels, there are troubles hanging about the question which make it an impracticable question. For example: they say your armies cannot move forward without damaging the loyal man as well as the rebel, and the government is under obligation to protect the loyal citizen. Well, my friends, if there is any one present who is troubled just at that point, let us stop and think of it a moment. If I am wrong, you will know enough of the question to keep right, and to set me right. Is the Government really in trouble on that point? Consider. This rebellion is either by States or by individuals. I believe that the theory of the Administration is, that it is a rebellion of individuals—that the States cannot rebel. It was well said by Mr. Brownson, that whatever we may say of what cannot be done, the States have rebelled; and is not that true? Is it not true that several of the States that elect Senators to Congress by their legislatures have, by the same authority, rebelled? Is it not true, that in some other States, the question has been submitted to a vote of the people, and the people, voting as they would vote for members of the House of Representatives, have voted to secede and go out of the Union? Thus, in both forms in which it is possible for a State to act, by its constituted authorities, and by its people, in their individual capacity as citizens of the State, they have voted that their State should secede. Now, what matters it that a State cannot legally secede? That is true; and hence the administration is right in maintaining that they are not legally out of the Union. Their only way out of the Union is by Revolution, and obtaining a recognition among the family of nations, not by legal steps, but by revolutionary steps.

The rebellion ripens into revolution. That is the philosophy of that method. Therefore it is a rebellion of States. Now, look at the duty of the Government to a loyal man in a rebellious State. As a citizen of that rebellious State, he must take his chance with the rest. What business has the government to paralyze its own arm by going about to find one in a hundred professedly loyal men, and thus put it out of its power to suppress the rebellion itself?

Or, take the other horn of the dilemma—that it is a rebellion of individuals. Individuals having seceded, they have incurred all the responsibilities that secession or rebellion can bring. They have exposed themselves, as traitors, to the punishment and retribution of the Government, if the Government can lay its hands upon them. That is what the Government is trying to do. Suppose it succeeds, and that a loyal citizen is made to suffer—are we not suffering? How does it happen that a loyal citizen south of Mason and Dixon's line is of more value than a loyal citizen north of that line? (Applause.) How does it happen that the Government stands by and sees the Southern Confederacy confiscate the property of Northern men, and the debts owed to Northern men, and their ships and merchandise on the high seas, and yet does not feel itself constitutionally authorized to make reprisals on the property of the members of the Southern Confederacy? Is this game of war undertaken after this fashion—all the right of confiscation on one side? Have they a "divine right" to pick us and shoot us, and have we no human right, even, of shooting and picking in return? Is it a battle in which one army is, by the very Constitution, called upon to stand still, and the other army to do all the fighting? Is it not the whole game of war, with all its strategy, just as broad on one side as it is on the other?

Again, my friends, it is impossible, in the nature of the case, whether the rebellion be that of States or of individuals,—it is impossible that the rebellion shall be crushed without interfering with private interests, and the private interests, to some extent, of loyal men in the South—if any such there are. It is this work of interfering with private interests that must be undertaken in earnest by the Government itself. It is this work, which, if carried on, weakens the rebellion. It is this which alone can take from it the vigor with which it is now sustained. But while many good friends feel that this can be done, so far as respects theory and principle, they yet feel that, after all, as regards even the disloyal men of the South, the traitors themselves, we must touch the question of slavery very tenderly. Yes, my friends, there are in Boston multitudes of opulent, supposed to be cultured, and socially influential people, who have no scruple at all about hanging a traitor, if they can catch him, but have a grave scruple about taking from him his slaves, or setting the slaves free, even after they have hung the master. While they have no scruple about taking the general property of a rebel, which has no direct relation to the institution of slavery,—his lands, his stocks, his sales of cotton—they have a grave scruple whether they may take from him his negro. It seems to me like that rule of compound proportion, which I used to study in my boyhood, where it was said, that more required less, and less required more. (Laughter.) The less claim a man has, the more care you must take about meddling with it; and the more unfounded his claim, the less you are at liberty to touch it. (Applause.)

But a word further touching this matter of constitutional obligations to loyal men. In the first place, it is a matter of grave, very grave doubt, even after the late battle in Kentucky, whether there are absolutely any loyal men in the South. I do not believe there are many men in the slaveholding States who are unconditionally and unqualifiedly Union men; and I hold to-day, (I do not say that they mean that,) that the most dangerous men in our country are those so-called Union men in the border States, who stand there, and by "divine right" claim to dictate to the Administration what it may and what it may not do. (Applause.) That is the power that is paralyzing the arm of the Government to-day. That is the power that is holding us as a nation at bay. That is the barrier, the adamant wall, that we have not been able to scale, which rises up between us and those homes of oppression to which we must go. Why, the same game was played, at another stage, by Virginia. While the subject of compromise was yet undetermined, Virginia was terribly loyal. She was the "mother of statesmen," and she was intensely jealous of her ancient glories. She had no intention of proving herself in any wise unworthy of her proud fame. And yet she stood there, between the power of the Administration and the disloyal States in rebellion, just as long as she could keep the mask on her face. When she met, face to face, in the Peace Congress, men able to answer her positions, and charge home her guilt upon her, when the mask was torn off, she swung over, by natural gravitation, into the arms of Secession itself; and if that fearful hour for the nation (fearful in every point of view) shall come, when the Southern Confederacy shall have attained independence, and shall be received into the family of nations, as certainly as water runs down hill, every border State will be with it, unless we hold them steadily and continuously by force of arms.

Now, that slavery is the bone of this contention from beginning to end, there is at present little doubt. That it has, by its influence as a great interest, operating through the market-places of the world on the one hand, and through the channels of political power on the other, stolen away the public heart, blinded the public eye, defamed the public ear, and deadened the soul of our humanity, there can be little if any doubt. Why, I ask you to go back a few months to the closing hours of the late Administration, and hear that old man in the chair, saying, in a special message to Congress, that he must once more warn them that they are in the midst of a revolution; and yet he did not lift a finger to check it. He saw it coming on, knew what it meant, and warned Congress they were in the midst of it. "Why did he do so?" He wanted to urge upon Congress the adoption of the extremist measures of compromise that were demanded; and when your own Senator, Charles Sumner, of immortal renown, (loud applause,) bore a message from the Governor of the good old Commonwealth of Massachusetts, assuring the President of the hearty support of this State in any emergency that might arise, and asked, "What further can we do?" that old granny said, "Go and pass the Compromises!"—showing clearly enough what he meant. But I must ask pardon of all the respectable grandmothers in the world. (Laughter.) If there is any one whom I would especially honor, it is that noble specimen of womanhood, a legitimate grandmother, to whom we give the coolest place by our firesides, and the warmest place in our hearts. But an illegitimate granny, made up of a drivelling old man, and a bachelor at that, (great merriment,) whose pericardium is so dry that his heart's pulsations creak like an old rickety wagon—such a granny is worthy of no man's respect. The normal grandmother is a creature of Heaven; the abnormal granny is a thing of the other place. (Laughter and applause.)

The resolutions which have been laid before you tonight have, in unmistakable terms and with a rare and solid logic, (rare anywhere else but on this platform,) told us that the institution of slavery must be abolished, as the only possible solution of the question before us. First of all, it must be abolished to save us from the ruin and festering corruptions which its toleration would bring. When it is said that it must of necessity be abolished, I do not know what the opinion of other gentlemen may be, but it seems to me, that we may have to confess this much, that it is just barely possible that, for the purpose of utterly overthrowing us—if it is true that we have sinned beyond the possibility of mercy—God may permit the Northern armies to triumph, and permit some sort of adjustment to be made, by which slavery, in the main, may be left where it is. Then it will only remain to reassert its rights and renew its influence; to struggle again for dominion and power; and we may then fairly expect a return to that state of feeling which uttered itself, I believe, in the city of Boston last year, and which will manifest itself in like manner again, crying out—"Let press and pulpit and platform be dumb! Have we not had one war on the subject of slavery, and will you plunge us into another?"—forgetful of the everlasting truth, that you cannot take a great wrong into the bosom of society, without God's stirring the heart of humanity against it. It is that which gives rise to struggle and outbreak, and the state of war, when it comes. If a compromise is effected, that struggle will come again; the strife will be renewed, in Congress and out; and we shall have further years, no man knows how many, of bitterness and contention, with the shameful passage of ultimate overthrow. There is but one pathway out of this difficulty, and that is by eradicating the evil which is its cause. I do not see how our armies can make any considerable progress, without carrying freedom with them. When, as at Fort Royal and Beaufort, slaveholders run away from their slaves,—and there is no law to bring back fugitive masters (laughter and applause)—I do not see how the Government is to keep those slaves in their chains. I do not see how they can be otherwise than free. But still further, I believe that they are now really and legally free, without any action of the Government. In repudiating the Constitution, the Southern Confederacy has repudiated their entire legal status; and all rights rooting in the Constitution originally have, by their throwing off the Constitution, been destroyed. They may reestablish and enact slave laws, but the Government knows nothing of these; the Constitution knows nothing of these; and when they shall be subjugated and brought back again under the dominion of the Government, there will be no law by which the condition of slavery can be re-established. I believe the Government should stand on

that ground, and if it should, there would be no need, even of a proclamation. A bold stand in this regard would waken the enthusiasm of the North, and enlist the sympathies of the world on our side.

Allow me a word further, my friends, and I will leave this place to those whom you will be better pleased to hear; and that is, a word in regard to the responsibility of the North in this hour. I do not know what proposition may come before us, but I believe that God, in his mysterious Providence, if you please, has placed the Northern people, not less than the Southern, in a certain relation to slavery. The slaveholder tells us that God has providentially subjected the slave to the missionary influences of that institution. Let it be so. Perhaps He means his missionary influence shall reach over to us, and waken all our hearts. We do not, indeed, bear the primary responsibility, but we have a secondary responsibility by no means insignificant, or to be lightly considered. Our material interests have strengthened the bonds that have knit them to us, and we have to share the responsibility in a degree that it would be exceedingly difficult for the moralist to define. Can we throw it off at our pleasure? Can we say to the South—"Go stand by yourselves, with your slavery and all!" Have we any right to say that, when those four millions of colored men—men as certainly as we—are looking out to us through the darkness of the almost dawning morning, and praying to Heaven that our hearts may be touched, and that we may use the power that has been put into our hands to bring them to liberty, of which they despair in any other way? Are we at liberty to refasten the chain upon the limbs of the slaves, or permit the Government to rivet those chains and perpetuate the bondage which is now legally an end? I do not believe that the North can fall on this point. I do not think it is fully awake, but I have faith that it will be awakened. I believe in a logic of events that will lead us to see the possible discomfiture that may come upon the field, the possible failure of our expeditions by sea; and the public heart will be touched. We shall see our duty, and shall not fail to perform it. The righteous judgment of Heaven will pursue us until we awake to right, and turn into the pathway of duty.

I have hoped chiefly from one circumstance. Some are pleased to rejoice at the success of our arms. I have seen no success that seems to me a certain indication of the end. I do not, however, despair, so far as the war is concerned. But my chief hope is in the decision of the nation at the late election. And I know that has been the immediate occasion of the war. That was a step in the right direction. If it was not a step for selfish ends, if it was not influenced by pecuniary considerations,—the desire to obtain productive lands, and the privilege of occupying those lands,—if the elements of justice and freedom entered into that decision, (and I venture to hope they did,) it was a step in the right direction, indicating penitence on the part of the nation; and God does not cut off a nation or a man in the hour of penitence. If an individual goes to Him, and seeks forgiveness for the wrong he has done, he finds forgiveness. That is the best ground of hope I know of. I wish it were broader, I wish it were more assured; but let us believe, let us pray; and let us remember that there are exigencies in life when the very best style of praying is fighting with vigor and perseverance. (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT. The inhabitants of Boston, ladies and gentlemen, are generally considered by the rest of the country to have an exceedingly good opinion of themselves, and to be unduly proud (we think, no more proud than we ought to be) of their historical associations,—Bunker Hill, Faneuil Hall, Lexington, and Concord. One of Jefferson Davis's Secretaries promised the Confederate forces that their march should not cease until they had planted the standard of the Confederate States upon Faneuil Hall. Why did he say that? Because Faneuil Hall was a representative phrase which stood for Liberty—the Liberty which was rocked into life in that "Old Cradle," and which has been ever since connected with it. Well, Faneuil Hall was the Temple of Liberty, if you please, but it was a temple that had what they call in England a "chapel of ease" to it; and that "chapel of ease" was the Old South Church. (Applause.) For the Revolution was not nursed entirely in Faneuil Hall, by any means. Perhaps almost as many and as influential public meetings which produced the Revolution were held in the Old South Church as in Faneuil Hall; and those venerable walls have echoed with the words of Sam Adams, and John Adams, and Warren, and Hancock, and all the men who were the means of rousing the public heart, at that time, to the Revolution. And as a punishment, as you will remember, it was made a riding school by the British when they had possession of the city. The Old South Church was synonymous with the love of liberty in those times. Well, since our new revolution began, we must confess we have not associated the Old South Church with the anti-slavery movement for the last thirty years. But, in the course of those revenges which, as Shakespeare says, "the whirligig of time" is ever bringing about, it so happens that the Old South Church swings round alongside of the Anti-Slavery platform (loud applause); and I have the pleasure and the honor of introducing to you, this evening, the Rev. Mr. Manning, its junior minister. (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. J. M. MANNING.

After saying that he did not feel any embarrassment in coming there that evening, Mr. Manning proceeded:

He was glad to receive the invitation, and to accept it, although there was not even the prospect of a mob to fill the house, and make the meeting lively. (Laughter.) This was a free platform; which cannot be said of some platforms. The gentlemen who spoke there were not responsible for anything but their own remarks. Most societies, when inviting speakers, sounded them a little, and were very careful to get men who thought pretty much as they did, and who would make an impression on the community favorable to the objects they had in view. But this Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on the contrary, welcomes to its platform none more gladly, he believed, than its opponents (applause); it is only sorry that they do not come a little oftener. (Renewed applause.)

It was this fact in regard to the Society—the perfectly free discussion which characterized all its meetings, which seemed to him to be a reason why the organization should be continued. He had heard it said in some quarters lately, that the Anti-Slavery Society had better be disbanded; its work was done; the nation was converted to its principles. He feared that they were not yet all converted to the great idea of impartial liberty, of free thought and free speech; and until that day arrived, he trusted the Society would hold together, and not disband. (Applause.) Let it remain here in Massachusetts as a witness to the fact that there is such a thing as free speech (renewed applause); that there was a Society which dared to speak what it believed, and invited others to come upon its platform, and speak what they believed; and a Society, too, which, in the exercise of this generosity, had not become bankrupt; for he saw by the Treasurer's Report in the paper that evening, that there were eleven dollars and a few cents in the treasury (laughter)—which was more cents than some treasuries can boast of, whose societies had not been quite so generous in extending free speech to all with whom they have to do.

But there was another reason why that Society should be kept together. He loved it for the educating power which it had exerted among the people. In former years, when he was a student, and used to come to Boston during the vacations, he dropped in occasionally at the old Melodeon, where the Society used to hold its Conventions; and he must confess that his impressions were not always the most favorable. There would be some brother in one corner, who would make a speech which did not seem to have much to do with the resolutions, which had just been read on the platform; and then, perhaps, some woman would "speak in meeting," from the gallery, and de-

nounce even the Anti-Slavery Society itself as inconsistent, and not up to the mark; and there would be a running fire, which generally "hung fire" a good deal, in various parts of the room, until, finally, some gentleman sitting on the stage, evidently "born to derule the storm," would bring back the wandering debate, and close up by giving the clergy some very hard hits. (Laughter.) He never thought that this day, (Renewed merriment.) He did not think, to this day, it was fair. He did not mean to say that the clergy were censured more than they deserved to be; but he thought that when a man attempts to do the censoring, he should be impartial, and should go clear through, and through the whole crowd, if he thrashes one. (Applause.) Now, he was a clergyman, and he was proud of the fact. He would not be in any other profession; and he honored the members of his profession as he did those of no other. Some of them differed with him, even on this question; but he would stand by them as far as he honestly and conscientiously could. He thought they would compare favorably with the members of the legal and medical professions, in the interest they had taken in the Anti-Slavery cause.

He then saw only from the outside; he did not get far inside. As he got further in, and discovered the central moving force, his respect for the men who controlled this Society began to deepen at once. He saw there was a high moral and intellectual tone at the centre of all its proceedings. He saw the outside and its surroundings. The current was swift and strong, and there was considerable flood-gate drifting on the surface; but the stream was not to blame for that. We all know, that when there is a fire, the light, dry material is borne to it by the currents of wind which always blow towards the fire; and wherever there is light, there is a class in the community who will be attracted by that light.

It was a peculiarity of the Anti-Slavery Society, that whatever came within the circle of its influence, it put life into it. If the thing it influenced was wrong, it made it more energetically wrong than it was before; and if the thing was right, it developed that rightness, and made the man stronger and more energetic in his righteousness.

Now, he had thought, sometimes, that it would be an excellent thing if all the good men and women in the world could be selected out of those whose natures are noble, whose instincts are refined, who love the beautiful, the good, and the true. If they could be collected, and subjected to the influence of some live force, such as that Society had supplied in its meetings, it had seemed to him that it would be a very good plan. On the other hand, he had thought that it would be an excellent plan if all the crooked sticks, if all the base natures, could be gathered together into a company, and subjected to some soporific, conservative power, putting them to sleep, making a kind of Barm's "Happy Family" of them, keeping them from making a disturbance in the community. (Laughter.) But the fact is, we get awfully mixed up in this world. All kinds come in contact with the educating force of this Society, and therefore some crooked sticks get to be frightfully crooked; and all kinds come in contact with the soporific, conservative power, which puts men to sleep, and hence the world is cheated out of a great deal of useful material.

The Anti-Slavery Society had associated women with men in its labors, and this struck him as a peculiarity, almost, in its proceedings, and something that had tended to the better development of all who had labored in it. He did not believe that man could ever be developed normally, in full and fair proportion, without the influence of woman. (Applause.) They were made to go together, all through life, everywhere, and should go together, the connection not stopping with the domestic and social relation. It was this which had seemed to him, as he had watched the course of the Society, to have contributed much to that nobleness and refinement of nature which he had seen in some of the most active members of the Society. He had attributed this to their contact with woman's intellect and woman's noble heart—

"For a great heart is his, that loves to go in  
To the prison, the slave hut, the alley of sin,  
And to bring into each, or find there some line  
Of the never completely out-trampled Divine."

For this reason, he would have the Anti-Slavery Society continue. He did not mean to say that there was nothing better than that Society. He believed that the Cochituate water-works were better than pumps; but he would not have all the pumps filled up, because there might be some stoppage in the pipes, or the lake might give out, and then we should be glad if the pumps were in working order. Out in Western New York, at Lockport, they have machinery for lifting the canal boats up a declivity; and so it was with this Society. By means of mobs, and other such appliances, it had lifted many noble souls from the common level up to the highest summit of manhood. (Applause.) He knew that, at the present time, it is raining patriotism, and there is a deluge all over the earth, and the weakest and timeliest of us are borne forward in the ark of freedom, high above the reach of slavery and the Slave Power. And he prayed God that the flood might not abate until all the mountains and high hills of compromise were covered; and if the dove of peace went out from the ark, let her return each time with the olive branch in her mouth, until the bow of Emancipation glitters in the heavens. (Loud applause.) Then we will go forth, and sacrifice as Noah did. That is what he hoped for; but he might be mistaken. It might not come; and then, if we were reduced to the old level, again, and must fight with the populace who are by certain interested politicians sent to disturb the meetings for free speech,—if we must have those disturbances again, then let us retain the old system of locks, that we may grow up to be men and women somehow. (Applause.)

"I like this Society," (continued Mr. Manning,) "and would have it remain as it is, because I believe that it has contributed greatly to the solution of the slavery question in this country, and also of the problem before the Government at present; and that if offers the true basis on which to conquer the rebellion. (Applause.) We hear a great deal, in these times, about a 'basis of operations.' Well, I do not know, but I am inclined to think that the true 'basis of operations' would be the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. (Applause.) We hear a great deal about the tactics of Gen. McClellan, and of his plans for carrying on the campaign. Perhaps he might learn something from Mr. Garrison. (Loud applause.) I know, when I was a boy, we used to practise jumping. First we would jump, and then, in order to jump further, run and jump; but in order to make the longest leap, we placed a spring-board on the ground, and ran and jumped from that. Well, the Government tried to put down the rebellion by developing a Union feeling in the South—that was the simple jump. Now, it is trying to put down the rebellion simply by conquering the insurgents, without regard to slavery—that is the run and jump. But I suspect it will never outstep Secession, which has beaten it thus far,—will never outleap it finally and forever, until it tries the spring-board of Emancipation. (Hearty and prolonged applause.) God grant that it may begin to practise that jump pretty soon!—for the spring-board is somewhat difficult to manage, and if they do not try it until they are obliged to, they may use it in so awkward and unskillful a manner, that, instead of sending them beyond their antagonist, it will only give them a summer, and break their own necks. (Applause.)

I do not wish to criticise the Administration or the Government, for I look on the outside of the Government. I remarked, a few moments ago, that my impressions of the Anti-Slavery Society were once wrong, because I had not seen the inside. I have not seen the inside of the Government. All I know of it comes through the reporters and sensation-letter-writers, the disappointed contractors and ambitious politicians. But I am not yet as despondent as some of my friends. I believe that Mr. Lincoln is a sensible man; perhaps not quite as fast a man as some clergy-men are, (laughter), but a sensible man; and Mr. Sumner wrote, not a great while ago, to a friend, say-

ing—'Courage, my friend! I know what is coming.' And when Mr. Sumner says that, I do not feel disheartened. (Applause.) That may be true, or it may be false; but I shall hope to be the last minute. I do not believe that Mr. Lincoln is so much opposed to the Anti-Slavery Society after all. I am inclined to think that he feels grateful to them for some useful ideas and comments. I do not despair of seeing some of the leaders of the Anti-Slavery movement—our honored friend Mr. Phillips, for instance—in the Senate of the United States. (Loud applause.) I mean no indignity to him (great merriment); for I anticipate that the character of Congress will improve under the discipline of the war; and I do not believe that Mr. Lincoln would object to having some such representative of the free anti-slavery spirit of the North in the House of Representatives, or in the Senate. I remember that a Congressman once asked a negro, and he replied that it was because he believed in giving everybody a chance, from a negro down to a Congressman. (Laughter.) Well, if we can only get some men we know of there, on the wave of this free spirit which is sweeping over the land, I am inclined to think that such remarks in regard to the intellectual and moral standing of Congress would not be made as they have been heretofore.

It seems to me, my friends, every day more and more clear, that the Government must come to something of this kind. Why, there was a rebellion in heaven, once, and how did the Governor of the universe go to work to put down that rebellion? We know what the rebels did. They came to this earth, and enslaved the new-born race which God had placed upon it. What did he do? Did he say to Michael, and the other warriors, "We will crush out this rebellion, but we will not disturb the relation between these rebels and this new race which they have enslaved?" No, the Ruler of heaven went to work just the other way. He sent a Redeemer to the powers of darkness; and when Satan saw that Redeemer coming, we read in the sacred book that he fell like lightning from heaven. Now, will the Government at Washington do as the Governor of the universe did, or will it advise its armies to crush the rebels, but spare the victims? Let them take the course which common sense, which justice dictates—for we hear a great deal about justice in these days. It has been printed in the newspapers several times, that emancipation should be decreed as an act of justice. Justice to whom? Why, when they go on to explain, it means justice to the Union, or justice to the slaveholders; it does not mean justice to the enslaved, God's own people, his poor, crushed, down-trodden ones, on whom he looks with infinite compassion. When I speak of justice, in this connection, I mean justice to those whose oppressors have been grinding them for centuries into the dust, and those whose tears God is keeping in his bottle, and will pour out in vials of wrath in future, as he now does, unless we let this people go free. Yes, let the Government do something which shall change our flag, our glorious symbol of nationality, from a sign of bondage, of a slaveholder's Union, into an emblem of liberty! (Applause.) As Mr. Phillips said, a few evenings ago, whoever looks upon that flag, black or white, let him read Emancipation written there! (Renewed applause.) Let it be lifted up in the sight of these poor ones who have been bitten by the flaming, fiery serpents of slavery,—let it be "lifted up as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness," in sight of the stricken Israelites. (Applause.)

I told the Secretary that I should not make a speech, but only a few remarks this evening; and I have not. I will conclude with a story. I boarded one of the hotels in Boston last Summer. One Sabbath, at dinner-table, a couple of gentlemen, sitting behind me, had evidently been to church in the morning, and were giving an account of where they had been, and who they had heard. One says, "Been to church this morning?" "Yes, sir." "Where?" "I have been down to the Old South." "Acquainted there?" "Yes, sir, I used to be a member there. I have not been acquainted there much of late years. I know the Doctor, but do not know the other minister." "O, they have two ministers there?" said the other gentleman. "You know the Doctor?"—(and if he were here he would enjoy the story as much as any of us.) "Yes," said the gentleman "He is some connection of Wendell Phillips?" "Yes, brother-in-law, I believe." "Rather conservative, isn't he?" "Yes, he is rather conservative on that subject." What the word that referred to you may imagine, coming in connection with the name. (Laughter.) "How is it with the other minister?" "Well, I believe he does not differ from Mr. Phillips quite so much. In fact," says he, "I am inclined to think they drive on the same box." The head waiter whispered something in the gentleman's ear just then, so that I did not hear what followed. (Laughter.) But it showed me where the public had located me (applause); and I felt it was too much honor to ride on the same box, and help drive the same team with Wendell Phillips. I should never attempt to drive that chariot, as Ptolemy attempted once to drive Apollo's car; but with him on the box with me, I am not afraid to ride. (Applause.) I believe that my children, when they think of me and my name, in future generations—I believe that your children, when they think of you and your name in coming generations—will recall with special pleasure the John Brown meeting, (applause), and the Anti-Slavery meetings, and every crisis where you have spoken a true word of struck a hard blow for Justice, Truth and Liberty. (Applause.)

There is a private history, my friends, of my own, in regard to this question, which there is not time for me to relate, and which I should not care to relate if there were time. I have been accused of zeal without knowledge on this slavery question, of talking of what I know nothing about; but there is a background of personal experience—a bitter experience—from which I have always spoken on this subject, of which very few persons know. It has been to me a more practical matter, a more serious matter, than many have understood. I have spoken with broken hearts before my eyes, families scattered and ruined;—not the families of the blacks, but of the whites;—families of those whom I loved, who are dearer to me than any others, bound to me for time and for eternity; and that which has nerve me always has been the hope that I should sometime meet these poor ones for whom I have labored, and be permitted to welcome them to a nation of freedom, and to all the blessings which I enjoy.

The Abolitionists ought to be a brave people, they ought to be a devoted people. There are eight millions of dusky hands lifted up to heaven for us continually; four million simple faces are turned fearfully toward heaven, beseeching God, day and night, to guide us, and keep us, and make us brave for justice; and the souls of the martyrs under the great altar are crying continually—How long, O Lord! how long! (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT. I believe it is the privilege of every auditor to give his own title to his composition, whether it be published by the press or by speech; therefore we will permit the reverend gentleman who has just taken his seat to call the beautiful discourse with which he has favored us to-night, "a few remarks"; only I am sure you will join with me in hoping that at our next meeting, we shall have a speech from him! (Applause.)

MR. MAY. We have just listened to a very excellent lecture. In other meetings than this, a story excites a song—why not here? and if it be a song of old John Brown, I am sure Mr. Manning will not object to it. We have had this simple song printed, and though there has been no preparation made to sing, I trust it will sing itself. I say, there has been no preparation made, but I trust you are all prepared to sing this song—those of you who sing at all. We know that many of our Northern regiments, we may say, the best of them, as they have gone down to the bat-

tle-field, have marched through our cities, and through the slaveholding States, some of them, singing the "John Brown Song."

The audience then rose, and joined in singing this spirited and popular air, with much enthusiasm.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then came forward, and was received with prolonged and vociferous cheering. [A full report of his speech will be given heretofore.]

THE CHAIRMAN said he had now the pleasure to call upon a gentleman universally known and admired for his eloquence as the champion of freedom and its advocate of peace. He was sure he had only to mention the name of George Thompson to excite their enthusiasm. (Great cheering.)

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON then came forward, and was received with the most enthusiastic applause, which having subsided, he said he had come to the meeting prepared with the following resolution, which he requested permission to submit:—

"That, in addition to recording its profound satisfaction at the happy termination of the late dispute with the Government of the United States, this meeting deem it its duty to ascribe the chief merit of its peaceful adjustment to the moderation, justice, and high-mindedness of the Cabinet of Washington, and especially to the statesmanlike ability and adhesion to principle of the Hon. William H. Seward, the Secretary of State; and would further express its thankfulness that, by this wise settlement of the Trent affair, this nation has not only been saved from the horrors of a war with its Transatlantic kinsmen, but from an alliance with a Confederacy based upon human slavery and the alleged inferiority of the races, and from virtually taking sides with those who hold four millions of persons (many thousands of whom are the origin offspring) in the most degrading physical, moral, and intellectual bondage—a bondage which this meeting trusts has already received an irreparable blow, and will speedily be brought to a perpetual end." (Cheers.)

In submitting the resolution, Mr. Thompson observed that, in common with his countrymen, a large, his mind had been relieved of the most painful apprehensions by the intelligence brought by the mail from America. He had also experienced a feeling of exultation in the thought that those who, for a few weeks, had been assiduously endeavoring to create a war between two kindred nations, had been foiled in their wicked attempt to make England the ally of a band of infamous conspirators against their own Government and the liberties of the human race. (Cheers.) There was to be no war with America; but no thanks to that portion of the press of this country that had prostituted its influence in the cause of slaveholders, felons and traitors. He had read the daily diatribes of certain journals, first, with the eye of an Englishman, and then with the eyes of an American. As an Englishman, he felt that his country had been disgraced by these venomous and brutal diatribes; and if he had been an American, and had thought that such articles were a true expression of British feeling, he should have desired the chastisement and humiliation of such a people. (Hear, hear.) No thanks, then, to the press, that we have had fear instead of war, excepting always those organs of the true principles of English patriotism which had, despite the slanderous opposition of a host of venal contemporaries, maintained their ground, and spoken the language of courtesy and conciliation with such unflinching fidelity. (Loud cheers.) No thanks, either, to the Government of this country, if it should appear that, for three or four weeks, they had been in possession of the assurance of the Cabinet of Washington that a peaceful settlement of the question was earnestly desired. In Mr. Seward's despatch of the 20th November, there was a clear disavowal of the act of the United States officer—(cheers)—there was a distinct proposal to come to a friendly and amicable settlement of the question. Now, it was morally certain that the contents of this letter had been communicated to the British Government, and that without delay. It was not conceivable that that which was obviously intended for the information of the American Cabinet would be kept back by the American Minister; yet the Ministerial organs had for four weeks subsequent to the arrival of this important document in this country continued daily to influence the passions of the people, by representing that there was a deliberate design on the part of Mr. Seward to go to war with England; and a million of money, or more, had been spent in preparing for a bloody conflict with the people of the United States. If this should prove to be the case, there were no words sufficiently strong in which to denounce the criminality of such an act, and the Minister guilty of it would merit impeachment by the House of Commons. (Loud cheers.) If he possessed a seat in the Legislature of the country, he would not lose an hour, after the meeting of Parliament, in demanding categorical information upon the whole subject, and in fixing the blame upon the official by whose guilt or neglect the country had suffered a month of unnecessary doubt and anxiety. (Hear, hear.) No thanks then, he repeated, to the Government of England. But we had, nevertheless, great reason to be thankful for having been saved from a collision with America. There would, in such a contingency, have been not only all the horrors inseparable from war, but added to them an inconceivable anguish to the minds of all who had to labor for their bread. (Hear, hear.) The reverend gentleman who preceded him had designated the Commissioner, about whom the terrible difficulty had arisen, worthless individuals. Perhaps he (Mr. Thompson) might be permitted to afford the meeting an opportunity of judging for itself how richly they deserved the title, by relating a few of their antecedents.

As soon as intelligence was received in England of the release of Mason and Slidell by the American Government, a public meeting of an influential character was held at the Lecture-hall, Bromley-by-Bow, for the purpose of giving practical expression to the pleasure which pervaded all classes of the community, in consequence of the gratifying intelligence that the dreadful prospect of war with the United States had been averted. A large number of the most respectable citizens of the neighborhood attended, and among those on the platform were—George Thompson, Esq., late M. P.; Harper Twelvetrees, Esq., J. W. Chesson, Esq., John Noble, Esq., of the Middle Temple; C. E. Garrison, Esq., sen., M. R. C. S.; Herbert Thompson, Esq., J. A. Horner, Esq.; the Rev. E. Matthews, W. H. Bonner, P. Pocock, B. A., John Ford, Esq., Editor of the "Stratford Times"; J. H. Donovan, Esq., of the "East London Observer"; Captain Reid, John Carden, Esq., Captain Thomas, William Manne, Esq., Lord of the Manor of Bromley; the Rev. Charles Armstrong, and Messrs. John Wain, Samuel Day, James Reynolds, J. J. Andrew, John Foot, William Foot, Johnson, Thomas Bullman, William Martin, James Poppleton, and other gentlemen.

MR. HERBERT THOMPSON moved that Harper Twelvetrees, Esq., be requested to preside. He begged to announce that intimations had been received from the resident clergy men and dissenting ministers of the district, acquiescing in the object of the meeting, and regretting that its being held on a Saturday evening would prevent their attendance. (Hear, hear.)

The motion having been seconded was unanimously carried, and Mr. Harper Twelvetrees took his seat at the chair amid great applause.

Speeches, admirable in spirit and eloquent in language, were then successively made by the Chairman, John Noble, Esq. (of the Middle Temple), and Rev. W. H. Bonner—at the conclusion of which.

THE CHAIRMAN said he had now the pleasure to call upon a gentleman universally known and admired for his eloquence as the champion of freedom and its advocate of peace. He was sure he had only to mention the name of George Thompson to excite their enthusiasm. (Great cheering.)

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A VOICE—Never mind them, how about the insult!

Mr. THOMPSON (pausing and looking deliberately at the interrupter.)—There has been no insult proved at the (loud cheers.) There can be no insult proved at the (loud cheers.)

with the tenor of his remarks, but the tone of them especially gratified me. His statesmanlike and cosmopolitan manner of treating his subject struck me as contrasting favorably with that of Mr. Phillips.

Mr. Phillips appears fully to share in the general indignation which the course of England in the Trent affair has excited on your side.

My reason for referring to these papers is to illustrate my own opinion, that by far the greater part of the ill blood and misunderstanding which have been recently manifested between the two countries has arisen from unprincipled journalists, whose victims are their readers, and over whom the Government on either hand have no control, and the thoughtful, the large-minded, and the truly patriotic no longer.

Mr. Phillips asks,—"Why does the London Press lecture us like a school-master his seven-year-old boy?"

It is, I believe, now generally conceded that, in the recognition of the Southern as belligerents, our Government had no choice, unless they had made up their minds to go to war with them and treat them as pirates.

Mr. Thompson next referred to the enormous expense to which the Government had put the country, in anticipation of a war with America.

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, (Ireland,) January 10, 1862. DEAR MR. GARRISON,—I have been spending my evening's leisure in reading the two last Liberator's which reached these shores, and have particularly directed my attention to the Hon. George S. Boutwell's speech in Boston on the 16th of December, and that of Wendell Phillips in New York three days afterwards.

Notwithstanding the fact that loud and long-continued cheers greeted Mr. Phillips' ungenerous apostrophe,—"There stands England, the most selfish and treacherous of modern governments,"—I maintain that nothing has occurred since the outbreak of your civil war to justify such a libelous accusation.

Furthermore, however you may agree with Mr. Phillips, it is the general sentiment here that the conduct of our Government has been marked by prudence, forbearance, and a total absence of bluster, bullying and discourtesy.

Finally, I regret that one whom I regard as one of the bravest, best and most gifted of Americans should pander to the most unhappy prejudices of his least educated countrymen.

In the same Liberator which contains Mr. Phillips' speech, and immediately succeeding it, is an article signed "W.," under the caption of "The War with England—its spirit," which I am really at a loss to characterize.

Resolved, That in contending for a reconstruction of the Federal Union on the original basis, with slavery an essential element as before, the Government is warring not so much against the Southern confederated bandits of man-stealers and cradle-robbers, as against Justice, Freedom, and God.

Resolved, That the enthusiastic determination of the people to suppress the rebellion at the South, at whatever cost to slavery, as manifest at the fall of Fort Sumter, at the murderous mob in Baltimore on the 19th of April, and, especially, the almost universal approval and rejoicing at the issue of Gen. Fremont's Proclamation in Missouri, all these are indications of how entirely and speedily the incubus disunion might and would have been exterminated, had the same brave and honest purpose animated the Government.

Resolved, That while Treason stalks unblushingly and unshamed in every department of the Government, defying all "Investigating Committees," and daring all executive authority, as at present, it is time for the people to arise in their own sovereignty, and arrest such outrages against all decency as well as all law, or thrust the authors of them from place and power, and consign them to the scorn and contempt of mankind.

LETTER FROM DANIEL RICKETSON, ESQ.

NEW BEDFORD, January 22, 1862. To the Annual Meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society: RESPECTED FRIENDS,—As I am unable to be present at the Annual Meeting, I would express herein my continued heartfelt interest in the cause of emancipation in which we have been so long engaged.

Resolved, That the toleration of slavery is inconsistent with the Declaration of American Independence, and that it is the duty of every free citizen in the United States to raise his voice, extend his aid, and exert his influence in behalf of the slaves in our country, and to persevere till slavery shall be abolished in our land and throughout the world.

Resolved, That the cause of Abolition is a righteous cause, being founded on the broad basis of reason, religion, justice and humanity; and those engaged in it, having adopted the Savior's golden rule, can persevere with confidence, relying on the divine blessing for final success.

Resolved, That the principles of Temperance and Abolition are very similar; and those who have adopted total abstinence from ardent spirits ought, in consistency, to adopt the principles of total abstinence from the sin of holding human beings as property; therefore it is the duty of patriot, philanthropist and Christian in our land to see that their influence in behalf of the slave, fill the foul stain of slavery shall be wiped off from the fair face of American liberty.

The Anti-Slavery cause in Dorchester, as in other places, had much to contend with, not only from the rabble, but from a powerful influence in the church. One of the largest religious societies in town refused the Anti-Slavery Society the use of their vestry for a meeting where the speaker for the evening was a minister of their own denomination, in good and regular standing, and the applicants in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society were members of the church.

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DEATH OF WILLIAM A. HOGEBOOM.

FRIEND GARRISON,—With a bleeding heart, I communicate to the Liberator a brief notice of the death of an all but idolized son, WILLIAM A. HOGEBOOM, not yet having attained his twenty-second year. My son was emphatically a reformer. In his efforts for the uprooting of our great national sin—slavery—he was most indefatigable.

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MEETING OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR—Most gladly do I hasten to inform you, as substitute for the absent Secretary of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society, that their meeting here, on Sunday last, in the large Jackson Hall, was a most complete success; rather thirty attended in the morning, but largely increased in the afternoon, and in the evening crowded by an apparently appreciative auditory.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That in contending for a reconstruction of the Federal Union on the original basis, with slavery an essential element as before, the Government is warring not so much against the Southern confederated bandits of man-stealers and cradle-robbers, as against Justice, Freedom, and God.

Resolved, That the toleration of slavery is inconsistent with the Declaration of American Independence, and that it is the duty of every free citizen in the United States to raise his voice, extend his aid, and exert his influence in behalf of the slaves in our country, and to persevere till slavery shall be abolished in our land and throughout the world.

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THE LATE RICHARD CLAP, ESQ.

FRIEND GARRISON,—I have been looking for a more extended notice in reference to our departed friend, RICHARD CLAP, Esq., from some one more intimately acquainted with him than the writer of this.

Resolved, That the cause of Abolition is a righteous cause, being founded on the broad basis of reason, religion, justice and humanity; and those engaged in it, having adopted the Savior's golden rule, can persevere with confidence, relying on the divine blessing for final success.

PLEDGES

To Massachusetts A. S. Society, at Annual Meeting, 1862. Samuel Barrett 20 00, James Hutchinson, Jr. 1 00, Mary May 1 00, Parkes Key 1 00, H. Willis 5 00, M. A. Carter 1 00, John F. Emerson 7 00, S. M. Babcock 1 00, Ruth Wheeler 1 00, Uriah Ritchie 5 00, H. W. Carter 2 00, W. P. Boston 1 00, Lewis Collogg 10 00, M. S. Barker 1 00, John Tucker 3 00, Mrs. T. J. Sawyer 50, Joel Smith 1 00, C. K. Whipple 2 00, Abner Keith 1 00, J. Kimball 25, Charles Warren 1 00, Josiah Hayward 1 00, Eliza A. Lawton 1 00, Ella Ford 1 00, William Lund 1 00, Warren Lord 1 00, William Dunn 1 00, John B. Wall 1 00, Geo. W. Simonds 7 00, Daniel Mitchell 1 00, Mary L. Willard 2 00, Benj. Thompson 25, Bourne Spooner 1 00, Maria S. Page 5 00, E. D. Draper 1 00, W. L. Garrison, Jr. 1 00, Edmund Quincy 25 00, Wm. Bassett, Jr. 2 00, S. S. Henshaw 5 00, Ann M. Ford 1 00, Mary G. Chapman 6 00, Andrew C. Davison 1 00, P. B. Francis 5 00, N. H. Whitting 3 00, Mrs. J. M. Bacon 1 00, John Starrett 2 00, Mrs. Lord 5 00, T. 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Poetry.

From the Herald of Progress.

A TRIBUTE

TO THE LIFE OF FRANCIS JACKSON.

"Disregarding the self-evident Declaration of 1776, re- peated in her own Constitution of 1790, that 'all men are born free and equal,' Massachusetts has since, in the face of those solemn declarations, deliberately entered into a conspiracy with other States to aid in enslaving millions of innocent persons. I have long labored to help my native State out of her deep iniquity and her base-ness by piracy in this matter. I now enter my last protest against her inconsistency, her injustice and her cruelty, towards an unoffending people. God save the fugitive slaves that es- cape to her borders, whatever may become of the Com- monwealth of Massachusetts!"—[FRANCIS JACKSON'S last Will and Testament.]

How charged with Truth's electric force  
Are those brave words of him who felt  
The wrong by Power and Passion dealt,  
Unto a race in whose veins course  
Their only crime—from sacred source!

Though thou art gone, most noble soul,  
These words will still reverberate—  
Strong undertones, which, soon or late,  
The hosts of liberty shall roll  
Through every land, from pole to pole.

Blest be thy rest! for thou hast striven  
Most nobly with a giant wrong  
Ignobly suffered over;  
The score to God's prophets given  
Hath won the good man's need in Heaven.

Sustained by God's good angels, thou  
Couldst face the frowns of Pride and Power,  
To aid, in many an evil hour,  
That martyr who wears even now  
The hero's laurel on his brow.

Though many may ignore thy claim,  
The thanks of millions yet to be,  
"Redeem'd from color's injury,"  
Will make for thee an ev'ning feast,  
And put false pride of race to shame.

All generous works of mankind  
The curse of slavery beset,  
And work not for the slave alone:  
The chains which bind his body bind,  
Confining and curse the master's mind.

What hardened hearts and darkened minds  
Are these in which the peaceful Dove  
Can find no resting place: and Love,  
The sweet, transforming angel, pines,  
A pilgrim at deserted shrines!

Oh, shall Progression's golden ear  
Be hindered here, or backward roll?  
Must all the high hopes of the soul  
Be quenched in gloom, as falls afar  
The nation's bright, ascending star?

Massachusetts, Dec., 1861.

From the Boston Pilot.

THE WOES OF COLUMBIA.

By JAMES L. ROUSE.

To-night there is wailing and sorrow  
Our beautiful country all o'er,  
And oh! it were joy if to-morrow  
There should be no grief to deplore!  
But, ah! there are hearts that shall never  
While living be strangers to grief,  
Whose hopes are all shrouded forever  
With sorrow that knows no relief!

Oh! grief of all griefs, that is writhing  
The hearts that were always so blest;  
Oh! treason of treasons that's blighting  
The beautiful land of the West!  
The wife and the maiden are weeping  
For those who in battle were slain,  
And through the long night they are keeping  
Their vigils of mourning in vain!  
Ah! long by the hearth shall the places  
Of these they lament be adored,  
And long shall their familiar faces  
Be missed at the family board.

Oh! grief of all griefs, and  
The innocent babes, in their prattle,  
Repeat the loved names o'er and o'er,  
Of ones who have fallen in battle,  
More fondly than ever before;  
Oh! many a widow is making  
A garment to wear in her woe,  
And many an orphan's heart is breaking,  
When told that his father lies low.

Oh! grief of all griefs, and  
There's many a once happy dwelling,  
To-night that is gloomy with care,  
Where once happy bosoms are swelling  
With anguish and hopeless despair;  
No more shall be seen there returning  
Those dear ones who dwell there before,  
And long shall they keep the lamp burning  
Before they shall knock at the door!

Oh! many a heart-broken mother  
The boy she adored has to mourn,  
And many a kind-hearted brother  
Has left his poor sister to mourn;  
And many a beautiful maiden,  
Whose heart should be happy and light,  
Is with mountains of grief overlaid,  
Lamenting her lover to-night!

Oh! grief of all griefs, and  
Fort Jervis, N. Y.

From the Independent.

TO ENGLISHMEN.

By JOHN G. WHITTIER.

You hang your laurel round the wave;  
We bore it as we bore you;  
Well knowing that the fettered slave  
Leaves friendly lips no option save  
To pity or to blame us.

Oh Englishmen! in hope and creed,  
In blood and tongue our brothers!  
We too are heirs of Runnymede,  
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed  
Are not alone our mother's.

"Thicker than water" in one rill,  
Through centuries of story,  
Our Saxon blood has flowed, and still  
We share with you the good and ill,  
The shadow and the glory.

Our very sins and follies teach  
Our kindred frail and human;  
We carp at faults with bitter speech  
The while for one unshar'd by each  
We have a score in common.

Selections.

THE ROCK WHENOE YE WERE HEWN.

To the Editor of the Bradford (Eng.) Advertiser.

Sir,—The extraordinary course taken by the or- gan of the English Anti-Slavery Society calls for distinct utterance on the part of all who ever loved the union between religion and politics, or looked with gratitude on the way in which in past times they have wrought together for the world's deliverance. A lady of rare powers, for the exercise of which all generations will call her blessed, roused a sleepy world to consciousness of the deep, irreconcilable hostility between slavery and all that is humanly, generously, religious. It was not a prosy descent, ending in requests for a subscription; but a lively holding up the mirror to all concerned, ending, like the efforts of the Athenian orator, in producing from those addressed the exclamation the Frenchman rendered by "Allons, battons Philippe!" All men, and all women, longed to be up and doing, before the evil ceased without their help.

And what hereon is the course taken by the pro- fessed religionists of the day? To collect the argu- ments of crooked politicians, and give them out again, so far as may be, with the stamp of their au- thority. Taken to reasoning at first hand, and see what amounts to. As the place where quotation ends is not distinctly marked in the Society's organ, no charge of intended misrepresentation must be raised on error.

"We are now told that the liberation of the slave will be the certain issue of this war, because the Ameri- can people are coming to see that they can conquer the South in no way so effectually as by proclaiming emancipation; but if that were true, how does it en- title them to the sympathy and respect of the anti- slavery party in this country? It is not obvious that they adopt the principle of emancipation, if they adopt it at all, not from any sense of the sinfulness of slav- ery—not from any sentiment of kindness for the slave—not from any love of liberty or hatred of oppres- sion—not because they fear God or regard man's sim- plicity because they imagine it a cunning measure against the South; that is, they are prostituting a great moral principle into the mere instrument of their own lust of conquest and revenge. If the majority of the American people, says the Examiner, in an ad- mirable leading article on General Fremont's proclama- tion, still adhering to the Union, sincerely believe that they were bound, as a free and Christian com- munity, to liberate the 4,000,000 of slaves, the profits of whose compulsory labor they have indirectly shared in up to yesterday, but the remembrance of which they now find intolerable, we should honor their peni- tence, however tardy, and content ourselves with ad- vising them to contribute, as we did, by a general act of self-sacrifice, to mitigate the loss and suffering of a comparatively small class which any sudden mea- sure of liberation must entail. But neither the Legis- lature, the Executive, nor the popular voice of the Northern States, has ever shown any such sentiment of the kind. From first to last, emancipation has been used, and used only as a political threat to coerce the South into submission. That was bad enough; but what is now attempted is much worse; for it is neither more nor less than an attempt to play with one of the greatest and noblest moral principles in the most sum- mary and arbitrary way, to palter with a social and religious truth in a double sense, and to degrade the vaunted immutability of equal justice to the level of ruthless calculation dealt out by drumhead court- martial."—Anti-Slavery Reporter, Dec. 2d, 1861.

So, because the whole American people are not found, with one consent, declaring they will abolish slavery through pure moral dislike, the vote of the British Anti-Slavery Society, as presented by their organ, is that emancipation short of this be not ac- cepted, and that cold water be thrown on it and its supporters!

By the same rule, the Protestant Reformation should be rejected, because more than one of its leading promoters were actuated by anything but moral abstractions. What a shame that anybody should accept the Reformation, when it is well known that so far from being the unanimous act of the na- tion, the numerical half, at least, were the other way, and the others glad to get it done by hook or by crook, not throwing either in the face of Provi- dence the fact that a man in the influential position of Sovereign Prince, chanced to see a remarkably pretty girl of an alderman's daughter, who adhered to the Protestant belief! Do not all men come at good by hook or by crook, and when they are able to get by acclamation, the Bishops in their coaches going to head and unannounced there are many a Justice of the Peace who turn out on that occasion to declare they could not submit to a public act which was got with mained rites, and what, in a specially bad meta- phor, is called "by a side wind"? Too happy is a man to get off a lee shore by a side wind or a great deal worse.

Or when a Revolution took place in England which put popular interests into the ascendant, did any religious body, even though it did not appear in the flesh at the Boyne or Cullinstown, exclaim, "This is no unanimous Revolution. There are many a Justice of the Peace in the land, who would point to. We do not accept such a pitiful Revolution. Therefore, throw cold water in the faces of all the men and women that stand up for it."

Or to take a later instance, when, after many struggles, the liberation of commerce from the Corn Laws was effected, did anybody say, "This is only half a change. It is no unanimous act; half the nation is doing all that can another way. And of those who are for it, not one in ten is actuated by purely moral motives. They are all looking to something else, which, in their own wicked hearts, is the object of their devotion."

After this comes the more peculiar objection, which is "A War." You cannot abide to see things done by war. Your sentiments on war have always been treated with respect and love. The only ob- jection anybody had to them was doubting their universal practicality, because it is one thing to hold a doctrine of non-resistance under the shadow of a powerful army and police, and another for universal practice. But there was no quarrel upon it. Men who had grown grey in arms thought them- selves honored by your friendship, and by your co- operation where it could be given. But you never advanced the doctrine before, that where there was war without you, no good must come by war if you were without you. This is a novelty that must be looked upon as a novelty. The character of religion and religionism is implicated; and the man who stands neuter on it is a turnip-paring.

come. I call yours refusing good that evil may come. As descended from those who, whether right or not, did all according to their knowledge with relig- ious motives, I cannot help referring the question to the professors of religion here, and if they fail, to a greater Judge hereafter.

MASON AND SLIDELL IN ENGLAND.

The agents of the man-stealing, child-selling, woman-flogging Confederacy will soon taint with their presence our free English air. They come with the avowed purpose of seeking our friendly alliance and substantial aid for the rebel faction which blasphemously asserts that it will make the divine origin of slavery the foundation and corner-stone of its political fabric. With an effrontery which would excite our mirth, if indignation and disgust did not over- power all other feelings, they will ask England basely to abjure her cherished principles, and to lend a helping hand to the champions of the iniquity which she most deeply loathes. They would have us stain with eternal infamy the flag beneath whose shadow the fetters of the slave fall forever from his limbs, by suffering its folds to mingle with those of the an- tiquated and filthy rags of a detestable kidnapers' society. This is the hopeful errand on which Messrs. Mason and Slidell are at this moment speed- ing across the Atlantic. As the day draws near which will witness their landing on our shores, it is well that our countrymen should awaken to a clear perception of the nature of their mission. Though the English organs of the insurgents may still strive to throw dust in the eyes of the credulous, there can no longer be any misapprehension among thoughtful men with regard to the motives of the rebellion, and the results which are hoped for from its success. The official avowal of Mr. A. H. Stephens, the Vice President of the Southern Confederacy, that the new nation to be founded will be based upon the doctrine that slavery is of God, is endorsed by other champions of the rebel cause, who give us a yet deeper insight into their nefarious schemes. Mr. W. L. Yancey, a Confederate Commissioner, who has been for some time past busily at work in London, avows his conviction that "the Federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade, and punishing it as piracy, are un- constitutional, and are at war with the fundamental policy of the South, and therefore ought to be re- pealed." It is not enough that the former lash shall remain perpetual subject to the cupidity, the lust, and the ferocity of their taskmasters. Thou- sands more are to be torn from their homes to feed the greed of Southern pirates by the new Confed- eracy, which would have England, by its alliance, assume complicity in the nefarious crime. But the negro is not to be the only victim converted by brute force into an animated chattel. The Richmond Ex- aminer avers that the cause of slavery has suffered from the restriction of the argument to the question of black servitude, and adds, "The laws of the Slave States justify the holding of 'white men in bondage.' Servitude, disappearing from the South, is to spring up in full vigor in the new Confederacy, and to be maintained to the end of time in the hands of the white man's manacles! A rabid hatred of liberty in every shape pervades the diatribes of the organs of secession. The South-Side Democrat denounces free thought, free schools, and, in short, everything free, as 'all belonging to the same brood of damnable isms.' The Muscogee Herald declares that it 'sicks' of the name of free society," and exclaims, "What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mech- anics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon- strated theorists?" The Richmond Enquirer pro- claims that slave society must take place in the new State, as 'Christianity.' These are the principles for which the Southern Confederacy is contending, and for the vindication of which it asks for England's aid. Perpetuity of negro bondage, the renewal of the hideous slave-trade piracy, and the enslavement of impoverished white men, are the glorious ends towards the attainment of which Messrs. Mason and Slidell come to seek our national cooperation.

The emissaries are worthy of their mission. The author of the most infamous enactment that ever defiled the pages of a statute book, has wisely chosen to plead the cause of man-stealers and pirates. The case of the reception which should be accorded to the Confederate Commissioners, if they venture to court the public gaze, may be guided to a correct conclusion by the reflection that Haynau was an angel of light compared to the man who claims the Fugitive Slave Law as his offspring. That man is Mr. Mason. Englishmen in general know nothing of this disgrace to the code of a civilized nation beyond the bare fact that it authorizes the capture of escaped slaves and their relegation into bondage. They have not even a faint conception of the scandalous iniquity of its provisions. It makes the affidavit of a pretentious owner before a single magis- trate in the slave State sufficient to secure an official certificate of the escape of an alleged bond- man. It makes the exhibition of this document to a single magistrate in a free State, coupled with a deposition of the claimant, enough to secure the de- livery of him to any negro. It shuts the mouth of the assumed fugitive, rendering him incapable of giving evidence in his own defence. It bribes the magistrate to perpetrate a grievous wrong by mak- ing his fee ten dollars if he hands over the negro, and only five dollars if he sets him free. It condemns every one who harbors or abets a fugitive, six months imprisonment, and a fine of \$1,000, with \$1,000 damages in addition if the slave makes good his escape. It degrades the officers of free States into active kidnappers, by compelling them, when required to convey the fugitive slave back to the State from which he fled. It insults the slav- ehating citizens of the North, by commanding them to help the man-stealer whenever he sees fit to claim their aid. This is Mr. Mason's handiwork. The noble resistance of the free States to its odious pro- visions was the incentive which moved the South to take up arms in defence of the man-stealer of the Devil, which the extent of the palladium of political and social existence. Never was there an enact- ment which entailed such awful responsibilities upon its author. Upon the head of Mr. Mason is laid down his life in striving to shield the escaped slave from his pursuer. The pecuniary ruin of the true heroes whose Christian sympathies, more potent than their worldly thirst, stimulated them to give shelter and succor to the hunted runaway, and paid the penalty of their good deeds, lies at his door. The anguish of the captive, whose life is in the cast-off chains have again been riveted—the waste of blighted lives worn away in renewed bondage, rendered yet more grievous by the evanescent glimpse of freedom—the hideous cruelties which jubilant slave-owners have inflicted upon the recaptured fugitives—all these will assume ghastly presentments in the visions which will hover around Mr. Mason's dying pillow. Such are the fruits which have sprung from the most memorable achieve- ment of the man who will soon set his foot on our free English soil, and ask our countenance and aid for those who deem his Fugitive Slave Law an in- evitable corollary from the Gospel.

Confederate Commissioners, who have the delusion that England has taken action for their deliverance. If a man chooses to keep a pet viper, the law will set its engines in action against any one who steals it from him, and compel its restitution; but it is to be hence inferred that we are ready to take the reptile to our bosom. The principle which we have professed is dear to us, not because it accidentally gives shelter to such as they, but because it affords protection to heroes whose good deeds have en- shrined them in the people's love. If they choose to profit tranquilly by the asylum which we accord to them, they are welcome to remain in peace. But if they venture to extend the same refuge to the agents of the diabolical schemes of their rebel employ- ers, Englishmen, remembering who they are, what they have done, and how odious is the cause of the in- surgent faction which sends them forth as its emissaries, will point at them the finger of scorn, and shrink from them with deadly loathing.—London Morning Star and Dial, Jan'y 10.

TRUSTED TRAITORS.

One of the severest evils under which this coun- try labors, and under which it has labored from the beginning of the secession war, is the infidelity of many of the employes at Washington, whose exam- ple is probably imitated by some of their brethren in other parts of the country. The mass of these in- fidei are traitors, many of them openly, and con- fessedly so, while others are false and untrust- worthy to the point of the heart, but they are not so true to their duty as the government was in the hands of the slaveocracy, and whether demo- cratic or whiggish, or misruled at the White House, was but the tool of the Southern interest. Hence there grew up in the departments a corps of faith- less men who could be depended upon to be faithful to the slaveholders, and unfaithful to their country. So long as the South should rule, these fellows would be true to the government, but no longer. The day came, at last, when it was thought that a govern- ment not certain to do the work of the slaveholders had been inaugurated, and so the slaveholders revolted, and with them went nearly all the capital, but re- mained to be useful as an efficient body of employes in the service of their masters. They, at least, were not failed in their vocation, and have done more for the benefit of the secession cause than has been done therefor by the genius of Davis, or through our own extraordinary failures. Our case has been not unlike that of England after the Revolution of 1688, when the throne of that country had been bestowed upon William and Mary, and the offices of government were mostly held by men who were hostile to the new order of things, and who were un- der no obligation to carry out the business with the agents and machinery of the secessionists; and our government has failed as signally as did the govern- ment of William and Mary on many occasions. The error of employing these villains was pointed out by congressmen, by the press, and by private individ- uals who visited Washington; and it was admitted to be an error, but coupled with the admission was the declaration that it was unavoidable! Members of the government said it was impossible to get along without the aid of the skilled labor of men who had been so long in office, and who knew all about the business of every branch of the public service! This, instead of being an excuse for the employment of traitors, was an aggravation of the original sin of employing them. A stupid enemy might, perhaps, be tolerated, but to retain in your service a skillful enemy, simply because he is skillful, is to exhibit a degree of greenness that we certainly never expect- ed from American politicians. The greater the en- emy's skill, the stronger the reason for getting rid of him. He does not employ his skill in your be- half, but in that of your enemy, and so is serving you after the reverse fashion of an honest man. But what could be done? Was it possible to get along without these men? It was not possible to get along without the state, and who knew all about the business of every branch of the public service? This, instead of being an excuse for the employment of traitors, was an aggravation of the original sin of employing them. A stupid enemy might, perhaps, be tolerated, but to retain in your service a skillful enemy, simply because he is skillful, is to exhibit a degree of greenness that we certainly never expect- ed from American politicians. The greater the en- emy's skill, the stronger the reason for getting rid of him. He does not employ his skill in your be- half, but in that of your enemy, and so is serving you after the reverse fashion of an honest man. But what could be done? Was it possible to get along without these men? It was not possible to get along without the state, and who knew all about the business of every branch of the public service?

MISSOURI SLAVES AND KANSAS OON-TRABANDS.

In slavery, a Missouri negro seems to be the most helpless, shiftless and indolent of beings, apparently childish, stupid and clumsy to the last degree, hav- ing but little idea of reason or self-dependence. But the moment freedom is asserted, then a revo- lution grows the most instantaneous, is effected in the character of the former slave, and in the latter con- dition they have proved invariably industrious and self-reliant, prudent and well-behaved, and above all, most eager to learn. It will interest our read- ers to give a brief statement of what has already been developed touching the condition of these peo- ple, now that the great question of this age is forced upon us, not to be evaded or turned aside. What to do with the slaves of rebels? And since slavery and the rebellion are hand-in-hand, this leaves our Government to deal with and hold the disposal of all but a moiety of those held in bondage, in the proportion to the number of the body of the disloyal, the number of Union slaveholders is very small. Let us see what has been proven on the Kansas border. The number of slaves freed by the agency of the Kansas soldiers, up to this date, cannot be less than 3,000, while several hundred others have crossed the river and border from Missouri, of their own volition. General Lane's Brigade, since August, has brought out at least 2,000; Col. Jennison has re- leased the rebels of not less than 700 or 800, while jayhawking parties and smaller detached commands have brought in as many more. A great many men are employed by officers, and as cooks in the messes of the soldiers. These all receive pay more or less liberal, varying from \$2 to \$20 per month, with clothes and rations. Besides this, a number are employed as teamsters. The wagon- masters of the Kansas Brigade is a black man known as Buck. He is quite a well-known character on the border. The total thus employed must ap- proximate to 500 persons. It would be desirable if some kind of discipline and drill could be given them, both because they generally show themselves courageous, and because it would be beneficial in forming and fostering habits of self-respect. Experience has shown that the slave is not deficient in that which constitutes courage, except one thing—He has endurance—the passive power of resistance—strength, great natural energy when roused, but lacks that which we Anglo-Saxons de- nominate "pluck." This grows out of self-reliance and individuality, and in excess it makes us of ourselves. The negro learns rapidly, and in no way would he gain a proper self-confidence so quickly as by having arms in his hands, being drilled, and then told to use them for his own liberty.

The principal portion of the contraband popula- tion live in the border counties and towns. Leaven- worth, Lawrence, Oswatomie, Atchison and Mound City have the larger population, and these Leavenworth probably has a population of over a thousand in the city and immediate vicinity. There has been for a long time an active and well organ- ized Underground Railroad at that point, the su- perintendent of which is a colored man. The knowledge of this depot is wide-spread among the slaves in the contiguous portions of Missouri, and they are constantly availing themselves thereof. Lawrence has a population, in and around the town, of about the same as Leavenworth. Atchison has two or three hundred; Oswatomie and neigh- boring township three or four hundred; Mound City, Linn and Bourbon county must have over a thousand, as this section is where they were brought in by Lane. At Topeka and other points there are a number of "culler pensons," and the prejudices of the majority found noisy vent. But that seems to be passing away, and the more active feelings of charity have been called forth to help them out of their destitute condition. True, this was fostered by the fact that the labors of these people came in very handsomely to supply that taken away by the war. All who are industrious can readily and do obtain work.

In the fall, it was indeed a serious question what these people would do during the winter. But, like the rest of questions, meets its solution in practical results. The best authorities that, among all the contrabands now coming to Kansas, there will not be over five per cent. who will in any way become chargeable to the public purse. Nor will this five per cent. long remain in a condition of pauperism. At all their meetings for education and other self-improvement projects among them, they have unmistakably shown their desire to do without aid from white people.

Most of the contrabands brought in by the army were provided with teams, or plunder of some de- scription. Then our efforts and those of the sol- diers, generally enabled them to bring away from their "secess" owners a wagon, oxen or horses, bed- ding, &c. By order of Lieut. Col. Anthony, this property was sold at public auction when the train arrived in Leavenworth. The proceeds reached over \$1,200, which were divided among the negroes in proportion to their wants, and their chances of employment. All of these are able to work readily, and it is certainly a most interesting sight to see the stalwart men and women, with their grotesque appearance and swarthy faces, so eagerly bent over their books, attempting to obtain that knowledge before which slavery vanishes as snow before the sunlight. The expenses of this school are at present paid by donations of the citizens. Most of the leading men of the town give liberally. Col. Jen- nison subscribed to the Lawrence school largely, and has also started and sustains himself a school for them at Oswatomie, which is kept open in the day time for children, and in the evening for adults. Over one hundred of the latter, in 1856. At Mound City another school has been started. At Leaven- worth, where there is considerable of a free colored population, they have two schools, sustained by the members of the two churches to which they belong, and for tuition in which a small sum has been charged. They are now organizing for the purpose of establishing a free school. Under the city or- dinance, the taxes paid by the colored people are to be used to sustain their schools. Under the State school law, they are entitled to the benefits of the school lands and funds, the statutes providing for a vote of the inhabitants of a district on the question

GEN. LANE ON THE WAR.

Gen. Lane was at Chicago on Wednesday, and made a speech on the war, in which he said the Ad- ministration had changed its policy. We make the following extract from his remarks as reported by the Chicago Tribune:—"It is no time for talking now, but for action. We have consumed eight months in inactivity, have wasted three hundred millions of dollars and sacri- ficed twenty-five thousand lives, and turned this country upside down in our endeavors to put down this infernal rebellion and save slavery. I tell you it can't be done, and the Government has come to that conclusion. Let me tell you, confidentially, that on Monday last they opened a new set of books, and came to the conclusion that if the Union can't be saved, they will extend the same refuge to slavery. The rebels have either got to submit, to die, or to run away. I tell you the time has come when play must stop. The rebels must submit, or be sent down forthwith to that hell already yawning to receive them. This desirable consummation was effected by a compromise. The radical men agreed that the con- servative men should carry on the war according to their notions for eight months, provided they were allowed the next eight. The time is up for the con- servatives, and they now hand the war and its con- duct over to the radicals, and every conservative man should now extend the same refuge to slavery. The rebels have either got to submit, to die, or to run away. I tell you the time has come when play must stop. The rebels must submit, or be sent down forthwith to that hell already yawning to receive them. This desirable consummation was effected by a compromise. The radical men agreed that the con- servative men should carry on the war according to their notions for eight months, provided they were allowed the next eight. 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